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ABSTRACT

Areas of interference between English and the Spanish of some Puerto Ricans and Cubans in Chicago is the subject of this study. Fifty-nine informants were provided with a list of everyday expressions in English, which they were to express in Spanish. The informants were classified according to education, degree of knowledge of English, and degree of bilingualism. The areas of suspected interference are discussed under four headings: nominal, verbal, adverbial and adjectival. The following patterns of interference were evident: compounding in Spanish, translation of fixed pairs, the use of the verb "trabajar," the increasing frequency of the expression "para atras," passive transformations, the use of "tomar ventaja" instead of "abusarse de" or "aprovecharse de," "hacer" instead of "tener" in "tener sentido," the confusion of "como" and "cuanto," and the incorrect choice of adjectives. Numerous examples are included, and the questionnaire used as the basis of the study is appended. (AMH)

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LANGUAGE CONTACT: SPANISH IN THE 70'S--G.J. Baginski

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Introduction

Chapter I: Purpose and Scope of the Study

Whenever two languages are in close contact, interesting phenomena are bound to appear. The city of Chicago, as well as many other areas of the U.S.A., has experienced a great influx of Spanish-speaking peoples. The causes behind this large immigration have been political, social and economic in nature.

The situation of two large Spanish-speaking groups who have relocated in the Chicago area provides an interesting study. Puerto Ricans and Cubans come from the same area in the Caribbean. The official language of each of these islands is Spanish. Aspects of the Puerto Rican situation are further characterized by the fact that he is an American citizen and much of what he finds at home in Puerto Rico is a reflection of American tradition and thinking. This often includes language. The Cuban, for somewhat different reasons, also finds himself in an English-speaking environment. Ghetto-type living in addition to other social conditions may somewhat modify this last statement.

The following study is an attempt to look at what is now happening to the Spanish spoken by these two groups as a result of the close contact between two languages--namely, English and Spanish, in a large city like Chicago. No effort has been made to investigate language habits of the Mexican or Mexican-American. This group makes up the largest percentage of Spanish-speaking peoples in the Chicago area, followed by the Puerto Ricans. Cubans constitute the smallest of these three groups.

Interference may be said to exist when elements of one language or dialect are used while speaking or writing another (Mackey 1970: 195). An attempt will be made to locate suspected areas of interference in the Spanish spoken in Chicago as a result of its contact with English.

Initial interest in this topic was provoked by my own work and residence in a "barrio" section of the city of Chicago for the past ten or more years. It is where I first encountered many of the expressions which will be discussed in this paper. Additional background reading for the development of this topic was provided by Interferencia lingüística del inglés en el español hablado en Puerto Rico by Paulino Pérez Sala. The study represents a dissertation submitted by the author to the Department of Hispanic Studies of the University of Puerto Rico as one of the requirements for the Doctorate in Philosophy. Many of the points discussed by Professor Pérez Sala with regard to the Puerto Rican situation on the island were found to have counterparts in the Puerto Rican and Cuban communities here in Chicago. Professor Perez Sala is of Cuban origin and had previously served as director of the program for the training of Cuban teachers of English.

Chapter II: Informants

A field of 59 informants was provided with a list of 20 simple everyday expressions in English (see Appendix). Each was asked how he would express these in Spanish. Phrases chosen were common, everyday expressions with a definite attempt to avoid the literary so that interference from the written form could be avoided as much as possible. It would have been better to tape these sessions, but time and circumstances made the idea both clumsy and inconvenient. However, many of the expressions were familiar and developed on the basis of conversations held with Spanish-speaking individuals: in particular, Puerto Ricans and Cubans. Consequently, we shall proceed on the basis that we can assume that you can get at the code which a person has in his head by asking him to write it down (Mackey 1970: 205).

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The bulk of the informants came from a high school on Chicago's Northwest side. They are mainly from Cuban and Puerto Rican backgrounds. They are currently enrolled in classes for the Spanish-speaking where they are taught to read and write the Spanish language. In addition, they are introduced to the literature of the language which, in most cases, may be considered their native language.

Another 5 informants represent adults from similar Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Two of these informants (Group E) possess a high-school education or less than that in their native country. The other three (Group D) possess college degrees--two of them completed their university work here in the States.

The high school students were broken down into three groups: A, B, C.

Group A--represents students born in a Spanish-speaking country who have studied anywhere from 1-8 years in that country. Consequently, it is supposed that these students are quite literate in their native language.

Group B--represents students who were born in a Spanish-speaking country but have never studied in a Spanish-speaking school situation.

Note: In both Groups A and B, a great deal of Spanish continues to be spoken in the home--mainly with parents.

Group C--represents those students who were born in the U.S.A. and whose education has been in a monolingual English-speaking system..

Note: It is in this group that some English is spoken in the home--by, at least, one of the parents (most often, the working parent) or both.

The following list of informants has been further classified with regard to the degree of bilingualism exhibited by each one. The basis for this classification was their command of the English language. Their enrollment in classes of Spanish for the Spanish-speaking indicates essentially good oral/aural skills in the Spanish language. Of course, just as any system has its flaws, some exceptions may be found.

A good command of both languages was classified under "Good." These working at a "Functional" level would still experience strong interference from Spanish. A "Limited" classification indicates severe difficulties with the English language. Few of the informants could be considered completely bilingual.

List of Informants

Group A

No.	Place of Birth	Yrs. of Education in Spanish	Yrs. of U.S. Residence	Degree of Bilingualism	Age
1	Cuba	4	4	Good	16
2	Cuba	5	5	Good	15
3	Puerto Rico	2	10	Good	17
4	Cuba	5	4	Good	16
5	Cuba	6	4	Limited	15
6	Cuba	3	7	Good	14
7	Cuba	4½	6	Good	16
8	Cuba	1	9	Good	16
9	Cuba	1?	1½	Limited	17
10	Chicago	2	14	Good	16
11	New Jersey	6	4	Good	15
12	Cuba	4	8	Good	17

List of Informants (cont'd)

No.	Place of Birth	Yrs. of Education in Spanish	Yrs. of U.S. Residence	Degree of Bilingualism	Age
13	Mexico	?	?	Functional	19
14	Columbia	5	8	Good	17
15	Cuba	5	?	Good	18
16	Cuba	8	?	Good	18
Group B					
17	Argentina	6 mos.	10	Good	15
18	Puerto Rico	0	10	Good	14
19	Puerto Rico	0	11	Good	15
20	Puerto Rico	0	13	Good	15
21	Panama	0	8	Good	16
22	Cuba	0	12	Good	14
23	Puerto Rico	0	12½	Good	17
24	Puerto Rico	0	13	Good	14
25	Puerto Rico	0	?	Good	15
Group C					
26	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
27	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
28	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
29	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
30	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
31	Texas	0	8-Chgo	Good	16
32	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
33	Chicago	0	14	Good	14
34	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
35	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
36	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
37	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
38	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
39	Chicago	0	15½	Good	15½
40	Chicago	0	14	Good	14
41	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
42	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
43	Cuba	0	10	Complete	15
44	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
45	Chicago	0	17	Good	17
46	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
47	Connecticut	0	19	Good	19
48	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
49	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
50	Chicago	0	15	Good	15
51	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
52	Gary, Ind.	0	17	Good	17
53	Chicago	0	14	Good	14
54	Chicago	0	16	Good	16
Group D					
55	Puerto Rico	0	22	Complete	25
56	Dominican Rep.			Complete	37
57	Puerto Rico	16	1	Functional	27
Group E					
58	Puerto Rico	8	1	Functional	25
59	Mexico	5	10	Functional	34

The Questionnaire

The original questionnaire consisted of twenty questions. In the following pages, only those items which revealed some particular interest with regard to language patterns will be discussed. Consequently, no attempt will be made to discuss items #9, #16, #19 and #20.

Chapter III: Areas of Suspected Interference

A. Nominal

#17 'Los acusan de ser drogadictos.'

The above expression 'drogadictos,' which is often seen in the press and heard in conversation, occurred in each of the groups interviewed. Spanish normally expresses this idea in the following manner: '...adictos a las drogas.'

It is suspected that Spanish has chosen to adopt a compounding rule of English in which the noun 'drug' has been placed before the noun 'addict.' In English, the verb must be nominalized before it can form the second element of the compound. Thus, we have:

bookkeeper	bullfighter	bricklayer
stage manager	caretaker	typewriter

The resultant stress contour indicates that 'drug addict' is considered to be a compound by the English speaker.

English makes extensive use of compounding; in Spanish, compounding is very limited and is usually confined to the $[\text{Verb} + \text{Noun}]_N$ type as confirmed by the following examples:

rascacielo	tocadiscos	rompecabezas
pasatiempo	salvavidas	
parasol	sacamuelas	

The syntactic relationship which exists between the two elements of the Spanish compound is that of verb and direct object. In English, compounds may enjoy the relationship of verb + instrument, verb + location, etc. It is not strictly limited to the direct object relation. Thus, we have:

undertaker	outgrowth
upstroke	smoke jumper

The compound nouns of Spanish previously mentioned may be further characterized by the fact that the verb is most often the third person singular of the present tense indicative of a first conjugation or 'ar' verb. Our only exception in the above examples would be 'rompecabezas,' which represents a verb of the second or 'er' conjugation. In addition, the noun is usually in its plural form but may be singular when it is a noun not normally used in the plural.

English, on the contrary, finds little use for this productive compounding rule of Spanish. The use of this pattern would be limited to such forms as: pickpocket, cutthroat, spendthrift (Marchand 1966: 37-39). More specifically, English usually puts the verb last and frequently includes a noun which is semantically an object of a preposition rather than a direct object.

daydream	waterproof
windshield	bumper sticker

However, it should be noted that Spanish does allow compounds which follow the $[N + N]_N$ pattern. Examples are provided by the following expressions:

madre patria bocacalle
plumafuente

This pattern, however, is not very productive in Spanish and examples are limited. It would not be productive in the case of 'drogadicto' since we also find:

adictos a las drogas
adictos a la marihuana
adictos a la (televisión) ... which appears to be the productive pattern in this case.

However, in Puerto Rico and among many of our informants, the terms 'droga' and 'adicto' have been joined together as would be done in English to form the compound 'drug addict.' A phonological adjustment rule prevents the occurrence of the double vowel 'a'.

It might be added that for many of our common compounds in English, Spanish selects a $\left[N + \text{Prep.} + \left\{\begin{matrix} V(\text{infinite form}) \\ N \end{matrix}\right\}\right]_N$ pattern.

race horse caballo de carrera
gas stove cocina de gas
sewing machine máquina de coser

* * *

#8 'Está lloviendo perros y gatos.'

All informants, including those with a higher level of education, tended to translate the above idiom directly from English rather than use the Spanish equivalent: 'Está lloviendo a cántaros.'

An interesting phenomenon resulted from the fact that a few switched the order of 'cats and dogs' to produce a mirror-image in 'esta lloviendo perros y gatos.'

Such expressions may be considered coordinates or words that are used in pairs and they generally keep a fixed order which is seldom changed. They exist in all languages, but their order may not be the same due to a difference in rhythm or cultural significance. Some pairs have an established order which is the same in English and Spanish. These pairs seem to reflect such cultural priorities as the importance of heaven over earth, the dominance of good over evil and the deference of younger people toward their elders. Those combinations which do not change between the two languages indicate that the cultural priorities inherent remain the same for both cultures.

cielo y tierra	heaven and earth
el bien y el mal	good and evil
hombres y mujeres	men and women
padre e hijo	father and son
pan y agua	bread and water
pan y mantequilla	bread and butter

'Perros y gatos' falls into the category of what may be called fixed but reversed coordinates producing a 'mirror-image.'

agua y jabón	soap and water
arroz con pollo	chicken and rice
hilo y aguja	needle and thread
ratón y gato	cat and mouse
tinta y pluma	pen and ink
vivo o muerto	dead or alive
huevos con tocino	bacon and eggs

It would seem, however, that many informants did not truly understand the idiom included in expression #8. In order to avoid not putting down an answer, they chose to translate it literally. In a few cases, it was interesting to note that they reversed the order of the two nouns to that which occurs in a Spanish phrase.

This is only the statement of a phenomenon, not an explanation. It is an attempt to note an interesting correspondence between the two languages. There appears to be no definite system underlying this phenomenon, although it appears to be productive.

B. Verbal

#6 'El teléfono no trabaja.'

In almost all cases, the above expression was used rather than 'el teléfono no funciona' or the alternate expression 'el teléfono no sirve.'

It would appear that what formerly may have been considered a deviant form has developed into an accepted form in today's spoken Spanish. This might be attributed to the relaxation of certain Selectional Restrictions on the verb 'trabajar.' More specifically, it is claimed that subjects of the verb 'trabajar' were formerly limited to subject nouns with the markings [+Agent, +Human] as in the following examples:

El señor no trabaja.	The man doesn't work.
Mamá trabaja mucho.	Mother works a lot.

On the other hand, the verb 'funcionar' took care of those cases in which the subject noun was marked [+Instrument,+Inanimate,+Mechanical] as evidenced in the following examples:

El teléfono no funciona.
Esta máquina no funciona.
La cafetera no funciona.

An additional verb 'servir' could be used in all cases where one might employ 'funcionar' but carried the optional markings [±Mechanical] so that nouns filling the subject position for this verb carried the markings [+Instrument,+Inanimate,±Mechanical] and, as a result, we find the following examples:

El teléfono no sirve.
Esta máquina no sirve.
La cafetera no sirve.

The selectional restrictions on this verb would also allow subject nouns with the marking [-Mechanical].

Esta llave no sirve.
Esta moneda no sirve.

The selectional restrictions on the subject noun of the verb 'work' in English allow either an agent or instrument to appear in this slot.

The man doesn't work.	man	[+Agent]
The telephone doesn't work.	telephone	[+Instrument]

Therefore, it appears that Spanish has relaxed certain Selectional Restrictions on its verb 'trabajar.' I suppose that one may argue that this is simply a development in the language rather than a result of interference due to English. At any rate, it presents an interesting phenomenon.

* * *

The preposition 'para' combined with adverb 'atrás' provides for an interesting set of phenomena in Spanish. It has led to the development of a whole new set of expressions as evidenced by #11 - #14. All are quite common and heard extensively in conversation. According Professor Pérez Sala, they are becoming more common on the island as well, although they were quite unknown until a few years ago (Pérez Sala 1972: 67). More educated informants were quick to label these expressions as 'not really correct,' but readily admitted that they were now quite common.

#11 call me back	llámame para atrás	vuelve a llamarme
#12 give it back to me	dámelo para atrás	devuélvemelo
#13 take it back	llévalo para atrás	devuélvelo
#14 he gave it back	se lo dio para atrás	se lo devolvió

On one occasion, the following expression was used in conversation by a high school student: 'La maestra quiere que vayamos para atrás.'
(volvamos)

Each of the expressions has a verb in Spanish which can fill this slot but is overlooked or ignored as the speaker chooses the 'para atrás' construction. I have heard this expression used by many speakers of Spanish in Chicago who claim little or no knowledge of English which indicates a strong tendency to replace certain lexical items with this expression. Pérez Sala states that its use is quite common in offices of the downtown area of San Juan, Puerto Rico (Pérez Sala 1972: 67).

Each of the constructions mentioned above is modeled on a set of idiomatic expressions in English where 'back' functions as a Verb Particle.

Normally, 'para atrás' functions as an adverb of direction or place. With verbs of motion, it indicates direction as in: 'Se fue para atrás.' It can also indicate place: 'está atrás.'

The examples in the questionnaire as well as further interviews with native speakers indicated that this expression was most productive in imperative phrases such as: 'dámelo para atrás' and 'llámame para atrás.' In these cases, the direct and indirect object pronouns are attached to the verb as would normally be done in an imperative expression.

After observation and discussion, the following conclusions were reached with regard to the 'para atrás' element in these expressions. The

$$\begin{bmatrix} V + Adv. \\ V + para\ atrás \end{bmatrix}$$

construction does exist in Spanish and the adverb would be either of direction or place, depending on the verb used. However, in the expressions under study, 'para atrás' no

longer acts as an adverb of place or direction as evidenced by its inability to move freely in the sentence without altering its meaning. 'Para atrás, llámame' does not convey the meaning intended by the speaker employing 'llámame para atrás' instead of 'vuelve a llamarme.' Marginal acceptance of this expression would suggest that Spanish word order may simply be freer. Absolute rejection would indicate that 'para atrás' is functioning much like a verb particle by reason of the fact that it cannot be freely moved throughout the sentence as could be done in the case of an adverb.

Although the adverb generally occupies a position at the end of the sentence, it can be moved without altering the meaning of the sentence.

Vamos para abajo.
Para abajo, vamos.
Se fue hacia arriba.
Hacia arriba, se fue.

Once again, this does not hold true for the prepositional phrase 'para atrás' in the expressions cited. It appears to be in much closer construction to the verb than adverbs normally are, making it resemble an English verbal particle.

The expression does not interfere with normal word order as evidenced by placement of the indirect and direct objects before the verb in these sentences which are not imperative forms:

El me llamó para atrás.
Me lo das para atrás.
Te llamo para atrás.

The only evidence of an accepted form rating a dictionary entry and employing the expression 'para atrás' was found in the University of Chicago and Simon and Schuster Spanish/English dictionaries. 'Echarse para atrás' was listed with the meaning of 'to back out' (no cumplir). However, this was identified as an American expression. Although I did not record it in my survey, it could stand as a forerunner of today's 'para atrás' expressions.

* * *

#10 'Está supuesta a llegar a las ocho.'

It may be that the above expression #10 is a variation of 'se supone que ella venga,' considered by Pérez Sala to be the only expression allowed in Spanish (Pérez Sala: 55). It can be argued that the

estar + PP + a + infinitive

construction is quite common in Spanish. There is reason to believe that such expressions as #10 are simply an extension of this basic language pattern.

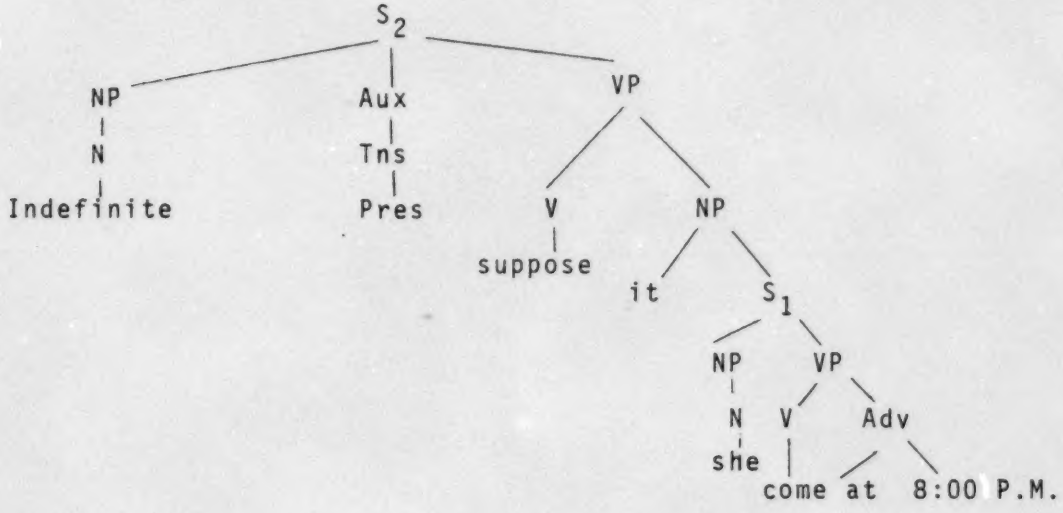
a.) Se ha dedicado a producir las mejores obras posibles.
Está dedicado a producir las mejores obras posibles.

b.) Se ha acostumbrado a correr un kilómetro cada mañana.
Está acostumbrado a correr un kilómetro cada mañana.

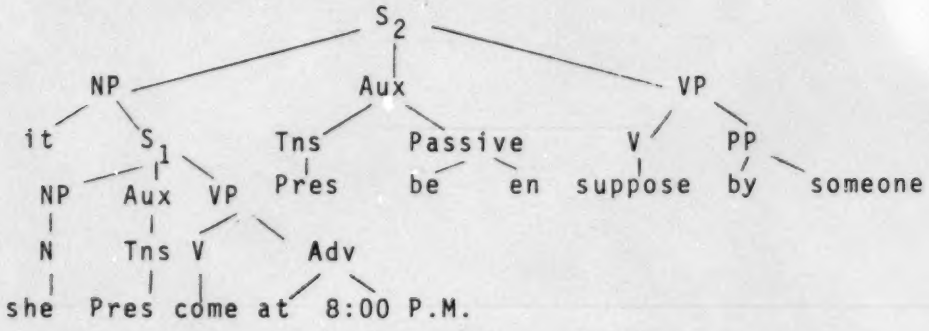
Each of the above examples conveys a passive sense. However, in example #10 the subject of the subordinate clause becomes the subject of the main

clause and the 'se passive' form is replaced by the 'estar passive' formula. Rules of subject-PP agreement work to produce 'estar supuesta.' The processes taking place in this construction may be similar to those occurring in its English counterpart.

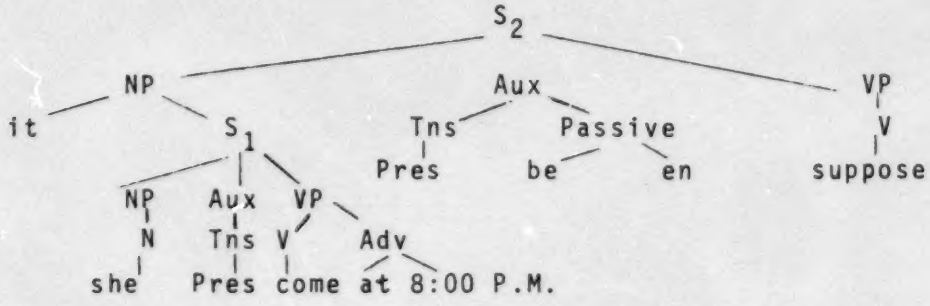
Someone supposes that she come at 8:00 P.M.
Someone supposes it.



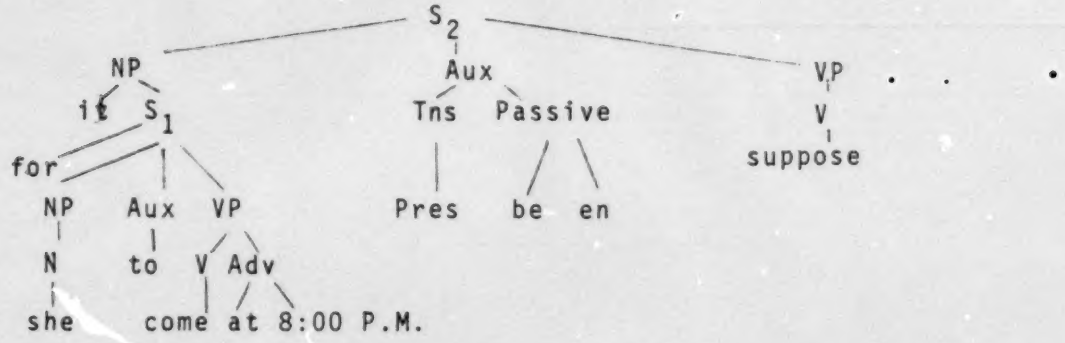
The Passive Transformation is now applied:



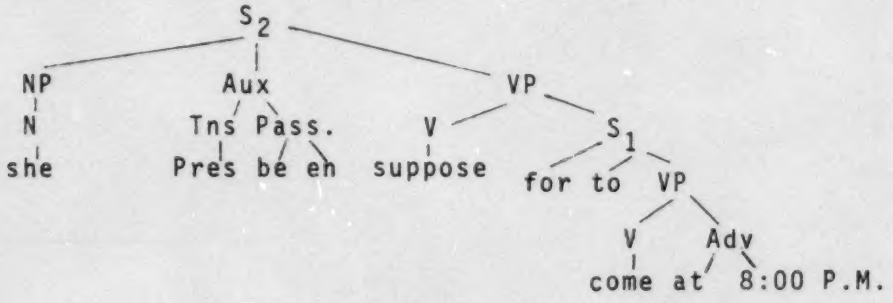
Indefinite Agent Deletion is now applied:



For-to Complementizer Placement will now apply:

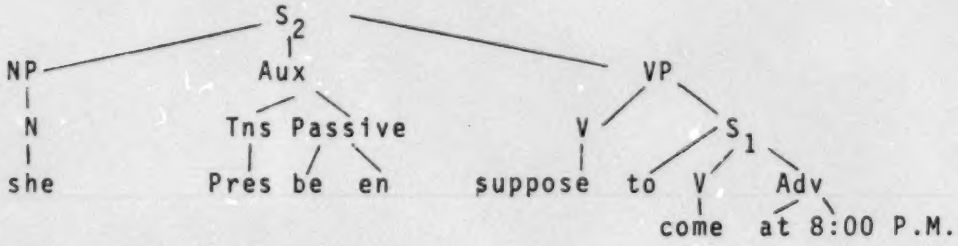


It-Replacement must now apply moving the NP subject of S_1 into the subject position of S_2.



Complementizer Deletion will give us:

'She is supposed to come at 8:00 P.M.'

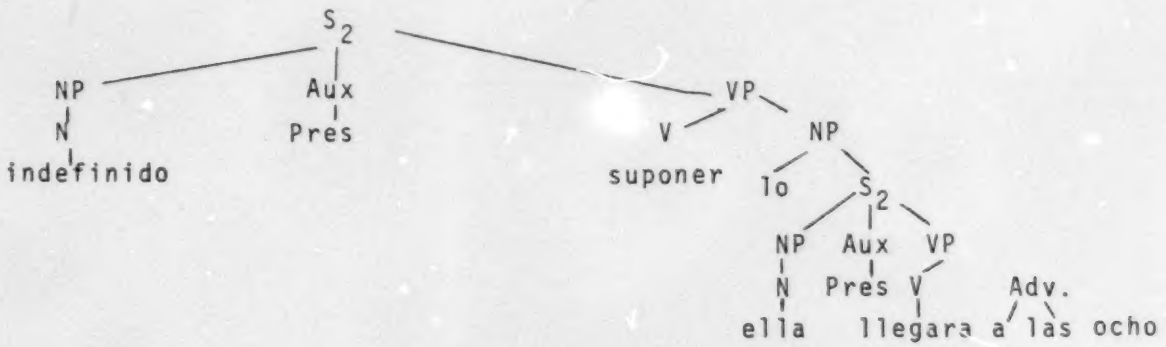


Affix-hopping provides the final surface structure.
There exist in Spanish verbs which function in a similar fashion.

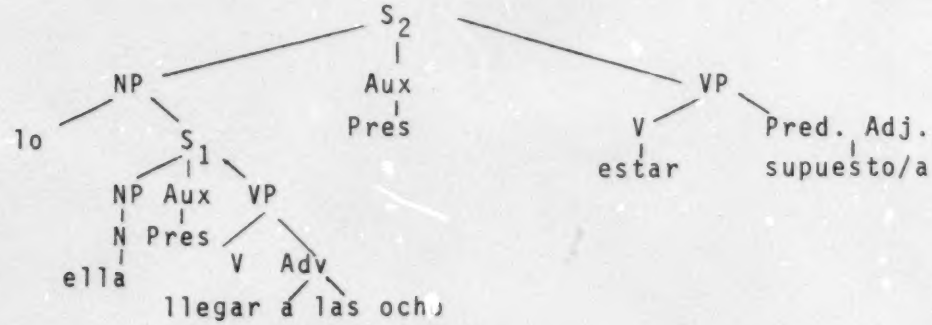
Mary seems to be sick.	María parece estar enferma.
It seems that Mary is sick.	Parece que María esté enferma.

Therefore, we shall assume that some of the transformations which operate to produce such sentences as the above examples have resulted in our example #10.

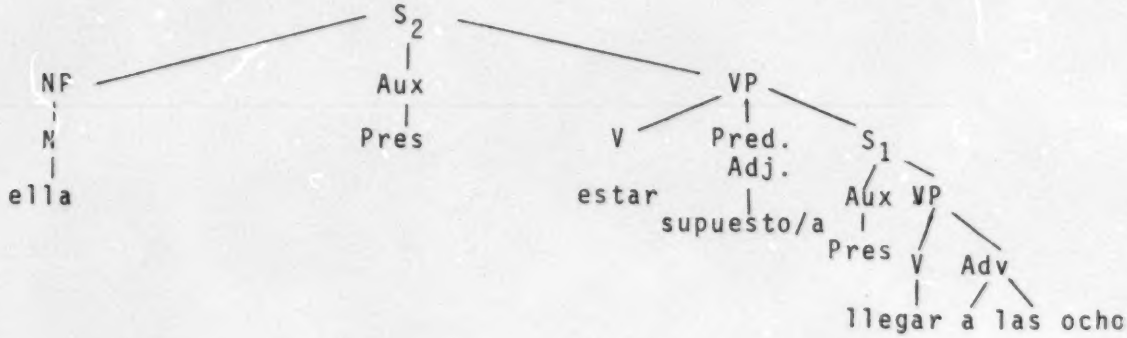
'Ella está supuesta a llegar a las ocho.'



Now the 'estar passive' transformation would be applied. This operation would result in Agent Deletion since this form of the passive does not generally indicate the agent.



At this point, a transformation similar to the subject-raising or it-deletion which we observe in English takes place, moving the subject of the subordinate clause into the subject position of the main clause and moving the VP of the subordinate clause to the other side of the verb of the main clause.



The following rule,

$$V_1\ (Adj.)_2\ V_3 \longrightarrow V_1\ (Adj.)_2\ Inf._3$$

in which element #3 ⟶ Inf. operates when one verb follows another with no intervening subject. We now have:

Está supuesto/a venir a las ocho.
llegar

Since the preceding now meets certain necessary conditions, an additional operation will take place.

$\emptyset \longrightarrow$ Prep./Adj. _____ Inf.

The preposition 'a' will now have surfaced, producing: 'Está supuesto/a a llegar a las ocho.' The selection of the particular preposition is largely idiosyncratic. The most common of these prepositions are 'a' and 'de.' Adjectives are listed in the lexicon with appropriate prepositions.

That the above rule is productive in Spanish is evidenced by the following examples:

Está dispuesto a cooperar.
Está dedicado a hacer lo posible.
Es fácil de hacer.
Es una lección difícil de explicar.
No es una palabra fácil de pronunciar.

Finally, rules of agreement in the language will operate to produce the correct form of the predicate adjective.

In Spanish, verbs such as 'parecer' normally allow the subject raising transformation which was just discussed. On the other hand, it seems that 'suponer' does not normally allow the operation of this transformation. However, in the example being discussed, it can be seen that the patterns of the language have permitted this verb to undergo certain operations not normally operable. It can, of course, be assumed that the speaker's contact with the English language has contributed to the development of this tendency.

In the original survey, some 34 informants responded with the expression just discussed. Another 2 informants provided the following version:

'Está supuesta de llegar.'

Such responses indicate that almost all those interviewed followed the rules of the language by observing the pattern: $\emptyset \rightarrow$ Prep./Adj._____Inf.

In addition to these responses, some 14 informants recorded the following:

'Ella está supuesta llegar a las ocho.'

Normally, this would constitute a bad construction since it does not follow the rules of the language by having an adjective followed by an infinitive. This may be attributed to the informant's lack of skill in the written language or to a simply more anglicized translation of the English disregarding the rules of Spanish.

A later survey was done with a smaller group of some 30 informants. That survey showed that slightly more than 50% of the informants followed the rules of the language by including the preposition. Slightly less than 50% of those interviewed provided such expressions as:

'Están supuestos llegar a las ocho.'
'Los muchachos están supuestos llegar mañana.'

Such responses point toward a growth in the more anglicized version. It should be noted that the majority of informants in the later and smaller survey had been born in the U.S. although about one-third had had some schooling in the Spanish language. Among those who had attended school in a Spanish-speaking country, most employed an alternate expression or the one involving use of a preposition. Consequently, exposure to the English language has tended to cause some disregard for a language pattern of Spanish.

* * *

#19 'Sus amigos toman ventaja de él y de la situación.'

The expression 'tomar ventaja' could not be located in any large, reputable Spanish-English dictionary, although it is heard in conversation and was registered in the survey questionnaire. It appears to be a replacement of the Spanish verbal expressions 'aprovecharse de' and 'abusarse de.' A few of the informants responded with 'abusarse de' and only the Cuban boy responded with 'aprovecharse de.' The greater frequency of 'abusarse de' is probably due to the fact that the first of the direct objects in this expression is marked [+animate]. The expression 'aprovecharse de' would be used with those objects marked [-animate] and referring to things or situations.

The verb 'tomar' constitutes an essential element of a series of expressions in which the following NP is of a varying nature. A few are listed below:

tomar sol - sunbathe
tomar mucho tiempo - to take a lot of time (to do something)
tomar razón - to take a memorandum; to register
tomar frío - to catch cold
tomar fuerzas - gather strength
tomar el trabajo - to take the trouble
tomar la delantera - to excel another

Up to this point, I have not been able to account for this phenomenon by means of any regular language pattern which might be described by rules of selectional restriction or subcategorization. Consequently, it appears to be instigated by the speaker's contact with the English language.

* * *

#5 *'Esta lección no hace sentido.'
vs.
'Esta lección no tiene sentido.'

Those informants whose more dominant language tends to be Spanish had less difficulty producing the correct Spanish equivalent for the English: 'This lesson doesn't make sense.'

A series of expressions in which both the verbs 'hacer' and 'tener' may appear was collected.

Hace frío.	Tiene frío.
Hace calor.	Tiene calor.
	Tiene hambre.
	Tiene sed.
El hombre no hace nada.	El hombre no tiene nada.
Este muchacho hace un papel.	Este muchacho tiene un papel.
La señora hace la maleta.	La señora tiene la maleta.

No le hace caso.
Hace ocho días que .... Tiene ocho días de vacaciones.
Tiene does hermanos.
Tiene quince años.

A perusal of the preceding data allows us to see that, at times, both verbs may appear in identical environments. Each, of course, is subject to its own particular semantic interpretation. The object NP of each of these expressions varies in nature. At this point, it is difficult to describe any particular language pattern exhibited by these verbs through rules of selectional restriction.

Therefore, at the present time, it may be said that 'tener sentido' is an idiomatic expression in Spanish requiring the use of the verb 'tener.' The occurrence of the expression *'No hace sentido' may, therefore, be attributed to the speaker's contact with the English language.

C. Adverbial

#1 '¿Cómo le gusta Chicago?'
#2 '¿Cómo le gustó la película?'

The use of the adverb 'cómo' with the dative of interest has been considered an area of interference (Pérez Sala 1972: 64, 65). The phenomenon was extensive throughout all groups interviewed. It hints that perhaps Spanish does accommodate this expression.

Further investigation revealed that an adverb of degree may fill the slot indicated in the following expressions:

¡Cuánto me gusta ese sombrero!
(I like that hat so much!)

¡Tanto me gustó la comida!
(I liked the meal so much!)

Verbs which function in the same way as 'gustar' allow for the insertion of the adverb before the indirect complement in such expressions as:

¿Cuánto te costó el vestido? How much did the dress cost you?
¿Cómo te fue? How did everything go (for you)?
¿Cómo le va? How's everything going for you?

In the above examples, the adverb 'cómo' functions as an adverb of manner eliciting such responses as 'bien' or 'mal.' However, in examples #1 and #2 of the questionnaire, the response would be 'me gusta mucho' or 'no me gusta por nada.' Thus, 'cómo' would now be functioning as an adverb of degree much in the same way as 'cuánto' or 'tanto.' Consequently, it appears that no truly abrupt change in the language has occurred. The expression may be said to fit the pattern of the language. At the same time, one might argue that a semantically impeccable sentence would demand the use of an adverb of quantity rather than an adverb of manner in the slot, producing the following expression:

'¿Cuánto le gusta Chicago?'

In conclusion, it may be said that the expression '¿Cómo le gusta Chicago?' syntactically fits the pattern of the language. Its acceptance despite its being slightly anomalous may be attributed to contact with the English language.

Accordingly, three informants from Group C responded with ' Cómo te gustó la película?' to example #2 of the survey although the phrase does not contain the English 'how.' It is expected that the use of 'cómo' would have been greater had this word been included. English allows:

a) Did you like the movie?
b) How did you like the movie?

In the first case, we may simply elicit a yes-no answer. In the second case, the speaker is asking for the degree to which one liked or disliked the film. Therefore, the addition of the adverb adds a slightly different focus to the question and elicited response. The use of 'cómo' suggests that the speaker of Spanish also enjoys the option of whether or not to include the adverb in his question.

* * *

#3 'El sabe cómo hablar inglés.'
#4 'Ella sabe cómo bailar el merengue.'

Another use of 'cómo' was noted in the use of the verb 'saber' of Spanish which already contains the English notion of 'to know how to.' Generally, we need not use 'cómo' as evidenced by the following expressions:

El sabe hablar inglés.
Ella sabe bailar el merengue.

Once again, the frequence of the insertion of 'cómo' in these expressions appears to be due to the speakers' contact with English.

At the same time, it should be added that the phenomenon itself seems to fit into the pattern of the language. There exists many expressions of the [saber + interrogative + infinitive] pattern as shown in the following examples:

No sabe adónde ir.
No sabía cuándo salir.
No sabía con quién bailar.
Sé a quién llamar.

* * *

D. Adjectival

#15 'El último miércoles, hubo...'
'El pasado miércoles, hubo...'

The normal procedure in the expression for 'last Wednesday' is for the adjective 'pasado' to follow the noun [N + Adj.] in Spanish. This is the normal word order in Spanish for the class of adjectives known as descriptive adjectives. In English, the word order pattern produces [Adj. + N]. Little or no interference was revealed by the questionnaire with regard to proper word order in Spanish.

I encountered another phenomenon resulting from this expression. The use of the adjectives 'último' and'pasado' does not always find a counterpart in English. As mentioned above, Spanish has a class of descriptive adjectives which normally follow the noun. In addition, there exists a class of limiting adjectives whose usual position is before the noun they modify. This class of limiting adjectives includes:

a) cardinal and ordinal numbers

Tengo tres libros.
Es la primera vez que viene a Chicago.

b) quantifiers such as poco, mucho

Tiene poco dinero.

and

c) possessive adjectives

Mi libro está en la mesa.
Su abrigo está allí.

The distinction between a descriptive and a limiting adjective in Spanish holds true for the adjective 'last' of our sample sentence. Consequently, we find:

Pasado 'past-last' [+ Adj., +Descriptive]

Último 'last' [+ Adj., + Limiting]

This can be verified by checking the dictionary entry for 'last' in any reputable English-Spanish text. Of course, this descriptive vs. limiting information is not listed, but is employed intuitively by the native speaker.

Some informants produced the following expression:

'El último miércoles, hubo un gran baile...'

in lieu of:

'El miércoles pasado, hubo un gran baile...'

As evidenced by the position and form of the adjective, speakers chose to use the limiting adjective 'último' rather than the descriptive 'pasado' for which the context called.

The incorrect choice of adjective in the case cited appears to result from the informants' exposure to English which causes an important distinction between these two adjectives to cease to exist for some speakers.

* * *

#7 'Compraron una casa doscientos años viejo.'

vs.

a) compraron una casa que tiene doscientos años
b) compraron una casa de doscientos años

In this example, Spanish has two options a) and b). In the first case, the expression '200 year old house' makes use of the relative clause 'una casa que tiene doscientos años.'

It should be noted that in Spanish nouns which qualify other nouns are introduced by a preposition, so that [noun 1 + noun 2] compounds in English frequently correspond to [noun 2 + noun 1] compounds in Spanish as in the following examples:

wooden house	casa de madera	art museum	museo de arte
handbag	bolsa de mano	travel agency	agencia de viaje
bathroom	cuarto de baño	waiting room	sala de espera
		traffic cop	policía de tránsito

We have further examples including a compound qualifier:

a 5-year old girl	una muchacha de cinco años
a blue-eyed boy	un muchacho con ojos azules

The first example could also be expressed as:

una muchacha de cinco años de edad

In the example provided by the questionnaire, informants observed the proper placement of the qualifier, that is, following the noun. However, a few neglected to introduce the compound qualifier with the preposition 'de.' In a certain sense, 'doscientos años' may follow the noun directly functioning in an appositive or parenthetical capacity. However, the 'de' cannot be omitted unless 'de viejo' or 'de edad' follows. *'Una muchacha cinco años'--would be terribly ungrammatical.

Once again, the development of this tendency seems due to the speakers' contact with the English language.

Chapter IV: Conclusion

The preceding pages have not been prepared with the intent to imply a definitive and unified hypothesis on the origin of the phenomena discussed. They are simply avenues of approach still open to study with regard to the points in question. Interesting questions have been raised and some explanations have been proposed. Further investigation of language contact and the developing sociological situation of Puerto Ricans and Cubans in Chicago should reveal additional aspects of these phenomena. I have only touched upon a few limited examples which may serve as stimuli for further study.

Chapter V: Appdenix

Cuestionario

Directions: Imagine that you are in the school office. A Spanish-speaking student enters the office. He or she knows little or no English.

You are asked to translate the following phrases from English into Spanish. You listen to each phrase carefully. In this case, you read each phrase carefully.

You then proceed to write down as accurately as possible what you would have just said.

1. How do you like Chicago?
2. Did you like the movie?
3. He knows how to speak English.
4. She knows how to dance the merengue.
5. This lesson makes no sense.
6. The telephone doesn't work.
7. They bought a 200 yr. old house.
8. It's raining cats and dogs.
9. The year 1975 will be a difficult one.
10. She's supposed to come at 8:00 o'clock.
11. Call me back. I can't talk now.
12. That's my book! Give it back to me!
13. Where did you buy this shirt? Take it back! I don't want it.
14. He gave it back to them yesterday.
15. Last Wednesday, there was a big dance at the school.
16. The dance was held in a big hall.

17. His friends take advantage of him and the situation.
18. They accuse them of being drug addicts.
19. Almost 300 students have left school during the past year.
20. There are 8 counselors at the school who help those students who are having difficulty.

You are outside in the hall talking with a friend in Spanish.
How would you express the following ideas in Spanish?

Estás en el pasillo hablando con un amigo en español.
¿Cómo es que dirías lo siguiente en español?

1. They're supposed to come at 8:00 o'clock.
2. He's eating nothing but bread and butter.
3. The boys are supposed to arrive tomorrow.
4. Bread and butter.

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